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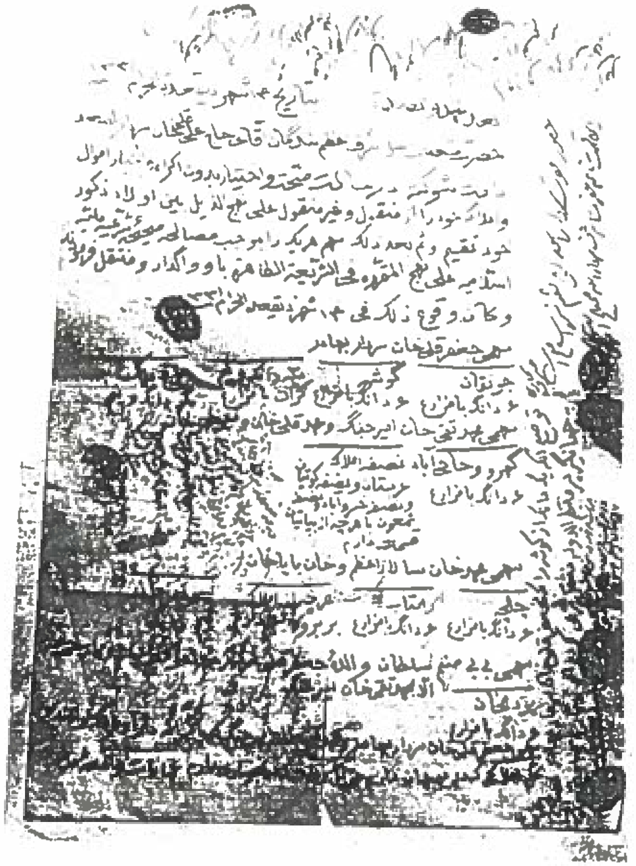

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DIGLOSSIA IN KABUL PERSIAN PHONOLOGY
(Dari)

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The phonology of Kabul Persian shows three distinct levels or styles of speech: Formal, Deliberate, and Colloquial. Deliberate and Colloquial can be derived from formal by means of ordered rules, some of which recapitulate historical changes in the development of Persian. It is just this subset of the stylistic rules that young and illiterate speakers have the greatest success in applying "backwards"—that is, from the Colloquial forms, which they learn first, to the Formal forms, which they learn last.

AMONG THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTH ASIA which exhibit instances of varying styles of speech within single speakers' idiolects, Persian provides examples of phonological rules which derive the informal styles, Deliberate (D) and Colloquial (C), from the Formal (F) style. The differences between formal and colloquial Tehran Persian (TP) have been discussed by Hodge, who distinguishes, within F, between "quotative" and "normal."[1] Since this distinction seems to be limited to morphological and lexical variation,[2] this discussion will be restricted to three styles: F, D, and C, in which phonological variation is apparent. It will also be restricted to Kabul Persian (KP), the dialect I have observed most closely, and which I have described elsewhere.[3]

F is heard in speeches, radio broadcasts, and the recitation of poetry. D is the style heard most commonly: it is typical of normal conversation among educated equals. C is heard in relaxed conversation among friends and relations. In general, it can be said that the stylistic rules take the F variants as their base forms, and apply with some restrictions in D, and with fewer restrictions in C.

My observation of KP speakers in various stages of linguistic development leads me to believe that children are first exposed to C, then to D, and finally, if they go to school, to F. This is, presumably, the natural order of acquisition of progressively more formal styles in any language; in the linguistic description of the styles, however, we proceed in the opposite direction because the D and C forms are derivable from the F forms, and not vice versa. I shall return to this matter below.

KP differs from TP in that it has retained the old "majhūl" vowels *e* and *o*, which have merged with *i* and *u* in TP,[4] and the diphthongs *ay* and *aw* are still pronounced [ay] and [aw], rather then [ey] and [ow] as they are in TP. Old final *a* is still [æ] in KP, not [e] as it is in TP. In the consonant system, TP *v* corresponds regularly to KP *w* (but not vice versa; see (9) below); and in KP, *q* and *ɣ* are in contrast. In this paper, the symbols used will be as follows: *i e ɛ a u o ɒ ɑ* for the vowels, and *p b f v w m t d s z n r l č ǰ š ž ŋ y ñ k g x ɣ y q h ʔ* for the consonants, semivowels, and glottals. Since not all of the segments symbolized here are contrastive in KP, I cite forms in italics rather than between solidi.

The rules given in this paper are cited, for ease of exposition, in English. A summary appears at the end of the paper giving the rules in formal distinctive feature notation. The order of exposition follows the order of application of the rules. All rules have the F forms as their inputs except (2) and (8), which operate on underlying forms.

(1) In F, unstressed vowels are not reduced, but in D and C all unstressed vowels become lax and

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[1] Carleton S. Hodge, "Aspects of Persian Style," *Language* 33:355-69 (1957).

[2] M. A. Jazayery, Review of *A Short Sketch of the Grammar of Persian*, by V. S. Rastorgueva. *Language* 41 (1965), p. 339.

[3] M. Henderson, "Dari (Kabul Persian) Phonology," Diss. University of Wisconsin, 1972.

[4] A. G. Farhâdi, *Le persan parlé en Afghanistan: grammaire du kâboli* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1955), p. 10. Old *ī and *ū have been lowered to *e* and *o* in both KP and TP; the usual symbols for these vowels in publications about Persian are *ē* and *ō*, but I use these for the majhūl vowels.

unstressed high vowels are lowered, as in F *širin* → D, C *šerin* 'sweet'; F *durbin* → D, C *dorbin* 'telescope'; F *šerdin* → D, C *šerdin* 'lancet'; F *šurbò* → D, C *šurbò* 'soup'; F *særàk* → D, C *særək* 'road'; F *gòdi* → D, C *gòdi* 'carriage'.[5]

(2) Whereas formatives which are represented abstractly with initial consonant clusters have these clusters broken up by epenthetic vowels in F and D, no epenthetic vowel appears in C. In the following forms, the abstract underlying forms are cited between vertical bars. |froxt| → F, D *furóxt* → C *froxt* 'he sold'; |škest| → F, D *šekèst* → C *škest* 'it broke'; |draxt| → F, D *deràxt* → C *dràxt* 'tree'. The representation of the verb forms cited here with underlying initial clusters is justified by their alternation between tenses, in which the allomorphs with a cluster appear: past *šekèst* alternates with present *mèškenad*, and *furóxt* with *mèfrošad*; and it seems reasonable to allow the epenthetic rule to apply to substantive forms like *birodàr* 'brother', *duròγ* 'lie', and *šutòr* 'camel', whose underlying forms are thus |brodar|, |droγ|, and |štor|.[6] The fact that no epenthetic vowel appears in C seems best explained by the presence of another, independently motivated, rule in the grammar (2a) that deletes vowels after initial consonants in some forms (vowels that have just been inserted in the derivational history, in these cases), as in F, D *pesàr* → C *psær* 'boy'; F, D *besyòr* → C *bsyòr* 'very'; F, D *jæwàn* → C *jwàn* 'youth'.[7]

(3) The glottals *h* and *?*[8] become semivowels between two vowels, as long as one of the vowels is nonlow.[9] If either of the neighboring vowels is round, *w* replaces the glottal, and if neither is round, *y* does, as in F *dahùm* → D, C *dæwùm* 'tenth'; F *muhìm* → D *muwìm* → C *mwìm* 'important'; F *nehæŋ* → D *niyæŋ* → C *nyæŋ* 'whale'; F *šo?ìr* → D, C *šoyìr* 'poet'; F *qo?edæ* → D *qoyedæ* → C *qoyda* 'regimen'. (3a) The forms cited here show that in C, unstressed nonlow vowels are deleted next to semivowels.[10]

(4) Unstressed nonlow vowels also become semivowels before other vowels and after any vowel other than *æ*.[11] This rule does not apply in F, applies within word boundaries in D, and applies across word boundaries in C: F *beò* → D, C *byò* 'come!'; F, D *du æfγàni* → C *duwæfγàni* 'two Afghanis'. (The change of *i* to *u* in this example will be discussed in (9) below.)

(5) Stressed lax vowels become tense before a glottal followed by a word boundary or a consonant, and the glottals are then deleted by rule (6), below, as in F *deh* → D, C *de* 'village'; F *še?r* → D, C *šer* 'poem'; F *za?f* → D, C *zof* 'weakness'. Although *æ* is phonetically tense when stressed, this rule applies to it and changes it, moreover, to *o*, as in F *šæhr* → D, C *šor* 'city'; F *næ?l* → D, C *nol* 'horseshoe'. This lends still further support to the analysis of *æ* and *o* as underlying |a| and |ā|.

(6) Any glottal which survives the glottal-semivowel conversion rule (3) above is dropped in D and C, as in the examples cited in (5) above and the following: F *sæbàh* → D, C *sæbò* 'tomorrow'; F *heč* → D, C *eč* 'nothing'. Initial glottals have a

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[5] The same phenomenon appears in trisyllables: F *širini* → D, C *šereni* 'candy'. The laxing of *i* and *e* to *ɪ*, and of *u* and *o* to *ʊ*, brings about the replacement of one contrastive vowel with another at the same level of representation. The same rule, applied to the low vowels *æ* and *o*, produces lax [a] and [ɑ] respectively. But the latter two vowels are not already members of the contrastive system. This, while it poses a problem in determining a unique level of phonemic representation in KP nonformal styles, will be ignored in the rest of this paper, and the low vowels will be represented as *æ* and *o*, even when they are unstressed.

[6] Actually, they are |brādar|, |draug|, and |štur|; but these forms, while providing striking examples of the way some stylistic rules recapitulate a language's history, will be cited here as they are above, since to get from the "real" underlying forms to those cited involves nonstylistic rules not germane to this discussion.

[7] Farhādi, pp. 28-29. While it may seem otiose to insert epenthetic vowels in D only to delete them again in C, both the insertion and the deletion rules are needed for other parts of the grammar, and their use does away with the need for separate underlying forms.

[8] In Arabic loans, ʕ and *?* are both represented by *?*, and *ḥ* and *h* by *h* in KP.

[9] *h* becomes a semivowel between two low vowels only at the boundary between verb stem and affix, as in F *mèjæhad* → C *mèjæyæ* 'he jumps'.

[10] Note that while *o* is phonetically round, it functions as a nonround vowel in rule (3), lending support to its analysis as underlying |ā|, in keeping with its history.

[11] After *æ*, *e* and *o* are changed to the mujhūl vowels *e* and *o*, as in |xonæ + e + xord| → *xoneœxòrt* 'large house'. This synchronic rule, which recapitulates the history of *e* and *o*, is thus one of the oldest surviving in the world, having first entered the language before A.D. 300. See Henderson, pp. 21-26, and James Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes* (Paris, 1883), pp. 99, 101-106.

ng effect on a following vowel in only a few rare Rules (5) and (6) together have the effect, rved in many languages, of the process of loss compensatory lengthening.

(7) If it appears next to another low vowel, *æ* ...ted within word boundaries in D and across in C, as in F *be æfγonestàn àmædè-ast* → D *f-onestàn àmædast* → C *bæræfγonestàn àmadæ* has come to Afghanistan'. (The deletion of in C is a morphological phenomenon). If, the application of rule (6), two low vowels ...iously separated by a glottal come into contact, ...le (7) applies but only in C. In D, there is no ...letion: F *sa?æt* → D *saæt* → C *sat* 'hour'.[13]

(8) All dialects of Persian include an obstruent cluster assimilation rule by which the first member of the cluster assimilates to the second in voicing. (8a) furthermore, if the second is a stop, the first must be or become a continuant.[14] In KP this rule applies in F only in verb stem alternations; in D it applies as described; and in C it is simplified so that the first obstruent becomes a continuant whether or not the second is a stop. Examples are: F *væqt* → D, C *væxt* 'time'; F, D *ræqs* → C *ræxs* 'dance'; F *hæždæh* → D, C *æždæ* 'eighteen'. This rule is responsible for all appearances of *ž* in KP; TP *ž* otherwise corresponds to KP *j*, as in TP *žolé* = *jolæ* 'hail'.

(9) As noted above, every TP *v* corresponds to a KP *w*, but the reverse is not true. This is because KP *w* has a number of underlying sources, including *i* and *f* in places where rule (8), one would expect, should produce a *v*, as in F *æfγàn* → C *æwγàn* 'Afghan'; F, D *qæbz* → C *qæwz* 'constipation'. (9a) Some F and D *b*'s before a vowel or pause also appear as *w* in C, without an intervening stage as *v*, as in F, D *ob* → C *ow* 'water'; F, D *šæb* → C *šæw* 'night'; F, D *bæh bæh* → C *wæh wæh* 'bravo!'. Since the *v* → *w* rule is independently motivated in KP, it would serve no purpose to complicate rule (8) by conflating the two.

(10) In C, word final nonnasal stops are devoiced after nonnasal sonorants, as in F, D *xurd* → C *xurt* 'small'; F, D *sæg* → C *sæk* 'dog'. After a nasal or an obstruent, there is no devoicing, as in *ræŋg* 'color' or *duzd* 'thief' (but see (13) below). This rule also applies to word final liquids, as in F, D *dur* → C [dur̥] 'far'.

(11) Like many languages, KP has a rule which causes nasals to assimilate in point of articulation to an immediately following obstruent. This rule applies in F only when the obstruent is word-final, as in |sang| → F, D, C *sæŋg* 'stone'. In D, it applies within word boundaries, and in C it applies across them, as in F *tænbæl* → D, C *tæm bæl* 'lazy'; F, D *non bæy* → C *nombæy* 'baker'.

(12) In D and C, *y* is inserted between *æ* and *ñ*, the nasal homorganic to *č ǰ* which is introduced by rule (11), as in F *panǰùm* → D, C *pæyñǰùm* 'fifth'. When the stop is word-final, as in *pæyñǰ* 'five', the nasal assimilation rule will have applied in F as well, and the *y* is inserted.

(13) A rule about whose extent I am not yet sure deletes some word-final coronal stops in C, as in F, D *ræft* → C *ræf* 'he went'; F, D *duzd* → C *duz* 'thief'; F, D *æst* → C *æs* 'is'.[15]

(14) When rule (13) applies to a word-final alveolopalatal stop, the resulting word final *ñ* is shifted to palatal *ñ*, as in C *pæyñ* 'five'.

It was noted above that while the derivation of D and C forms proceeds, in a linguistic description, from F forms as the basic variants, children learn KP in the opposite order. Careful analysis of a large corpus of utterances in KP, from speakers varying in age and education, might shed light on what is now only a hypothesis on my part: that the success with which young or illiterate KP speakers understand and produce an F form depends, in large part, on whether the F form represents an earlier stage in the development of the language or represents a relatively recently borrowed "foreign" form.[16] Young and/or illiterate KP speakers have no difficulty, for instance, understanding or producing F forms such as *tænbæl* 'lazy' or *sæg* 'dog'; but they tend, I have observed, to have more trouble with glottals (many of which represent borrowed Arabic segments), and they often insert them incorrectly, e.g., *sæha t* for *sa?æt* 'hour' (from Arabic *sāʕa*), when at-

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[12] Farhādi, p. 20. The few cases should be considered a list class, or a class with "plus-rule" features.

[13] It appears that, no word boundaries being involved, rule (6) applies before rule (7) in C, but after it in D. If this is true, it provides a striking example of "quasi-ordered rules", as described by John Fought, "Rule ordering, interference, and free alternation in phonology," *Language* 49.67-86 (1973).

[14] This is another hoary rule in the language; see H. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1895), pp. 111-115.

[15] Farhādi, p. 30.

[16] For an example of this linguistic phenomenon, see W. Bright, "Phonological Rules in Literary and Colloquial Kannada," *JAOS* 90.140-144 (1970).

tempting to speak "correctly". Further investigation into diglossia is needed; stylistic variation often provides the analyst with excellent clues to a language's structure.[17] KP provides an example of a language with three easily observable stylistic levels, the control of which should perhaps better be called triglossia.[18]

Summary of Rules

(1) $$V \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{high} \\ -\text{tense} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \_\_ \\ -\text{stress} \end{bmatrix}$$

(2) $$0 \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -\text{high} \\ -\text{low} \\ -\text{tense} \\ \alpha\text{back} \end{bmatrix} / \#C \_\_ C \begin{bmatrix} V \\ \alpha\text{round} \end{bmatrix}$$

(2a) $$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -\text{stress} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow 0 / \#C \_\_ C$$

(3) $$?, h \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{sonorant} \\ +\text{high} \\ \alpha\text{back} \end{bmatrix} // V \_\_ \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +\text{low} \\ \alpha\text{round} \end{bmatrix}$$

(// indicates a mirror-image rule)

(3a) $$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ +\text{low} \\ -\text{stress} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow 0 // \_\_ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{consonantal} \\ +\text{sonorant} \\ -\text{syllabic} \\ +\text{high} \end{bmatrix}$$

(4) $$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ +\text{low} \\ -\text{stress} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{syllabic}] // V$$

(5) $$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -\text{tense} \\ +\text{stress} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{tense}] / \_\_ \begin{bmatrix} h \\ ? \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} C \\ \# \end{bmatrix}$$

(6) $$?, h \rightarrow 0$$

(7) $$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ +\text{low} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow 0 // \_\_ \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +\text{low} \end{bmatrix}$$

(In D, the order or rules (6) and (7) is reversed.)

(8) $$\begin{Bmatrix} -\text{sonorant} \\ +\text{consonantal} \end{Bmatrix}$$
$$\downarrow$$
$$\begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{voice} \\ <+\text{continuant}> \end{bmatrix} / \_\_ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{sonorant} \\ +\text{consonantal} \\ \alpha\text{voice} \\ <+\text{continuant}> \end{bmatrix}$$

(9) $$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{sonorant} \\ +\text{consonantal} \\ +\text{anterior} \\ +\text{coronal} \\ +\text{voice} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{sonorant} \\ -\text{consonantal} \\ +\text{high} \\ +\text{back} \\ +\text{round} \end{bmatrix}$$

(10) $$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{consonantal} \\ -\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{voice}] / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{sonorant} \\ -\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \_\_ \#$$

(11) $$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{consonantal} \\ +\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix}$$
$$\downarrow$$
$$\begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{anterior} \\ \beta\text{coronal} \\ \delta\text{high} \\ \gamma\text{back} \\ \varepsilon\text{distributed} \end{bmatrix} / \_\_ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{sonorant} \\ +\text{consonantal} \\ \alpha\text{anterior} \\ \beta\text{coronal} \\ \delta\text{high} \\ \gamma\text{back} \\ \varepsilon\text{distributed} \end{bmatrix}$$

(12) $$0 \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{sonorant} \\ -\text{consonantal} \\ -\text{syllabic} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +\text{low} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \_\_ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{consonantal} \\ +\text{nasal} \\ +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix}$$

(13) $$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{sonorant} \\ +\text{consonantal} \\ +\text{coronal} \\ -\text{continuant} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow 0 / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{consonantal} \\ \begin{Bmatrix} [+\text{continuant}] \\ [+\text{nasal}] \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \_\_ \#$$

(14) $$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{consonantal} \\ +\text{nasal} \\ +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{coronal}] / \_\_ \#$$

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[17] Such variations as *dɛh ~ dɛ* and *dɔh ~ dɔ*, for example, show that the opposition *æ* : *ɔ* is proportional, in Praguian terms, to the opposition *ɛ* : *e*. If the analyst were to consider only one stylistic level in KP, these variations would not appear, and a valuable insight might be lost. See also James W. Harris, *Spanish Phonology* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1969), pp. 6-8.

[18] I am very grateful to Gernot Windfuhr, William Bright, and Thomas Henderson for their comments and suggestions on earlier versions of this paper.

RĀDHĀ: CONSORT OF KṚṢṆA'S VERNAL PASSION*

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The source of Jayadeva's heroine in his poem, *Gītagovinda*, remains one of the puzzles of Sanskrit literature. While no definitive solution presents itself, well-documented references to Rādhā in more than twenty works of Indian literature which antedate the *Gītagovinda* are quoted. From these emerges a characterization of Rādhā and her unique association with Kṛṣṇa which suggests an old tradition surrounding the celebration of the secret love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in springtime. Vedic and Epic mythology as well as classical Indian esthetic theory are related to the development of Jayadeva's central female figure.

IN THE PROCESS OF PREPARING a textual analysis and translation of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, it has become increasingly clear that the poem achieves its power through a highly-controlled interweaving of formal and thematic elements drawn from various kinds of sources within the Indian literary tradition. In order to transform the Sanskrit original into a viable English poem, it has become necessary to attempt to unravel these elements, trace their sources, and penetrate the particular way in which the poet Jayadeva combined them into his exquisite lyrical poem of passionate devotion in the twelfth century.[1]

The figure of Rādhā is one of the most ma
in Sanskrit literature. Until Jayadeva ma
the heroine of his poem, she appeared o
stray verses scattered through anthologies
krit and Sanskrit poetry, works of literary
ies, grammar, poetry, and drama, and a
scriptions. Unless one comes to appreciate
deva's method of composition in its various a
it is difficult to understand how much his
acterization of Rādhā depends on the w
skillfully plays with specific details and m
associations from earlier mythological and l
contexts. The entire poem is formally ex
in two distinct types of metrical systems: i
onal stanzas in a variety of syllabic meters (
chandas) are interspersed with songs i
measured, or moric, meters (*mātrā-chandas*)
of the latter are structured into repeating p
of four-beat units (*catur-gaṇa*), which refl
four-beat unit of the most common rhyt
patterns (*tāla*) of both systems of Indian c
music.[2] With specific reference to the song
of the twenty-four is a composite of a re
pattern of three formal units: (1) *Pada*, the
which usually occurs in units of eight an

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* This paper is a fuller version of the paper prepared for the 1974 meeting of the American Oriental Society in Santa Barbara.

[1] For a brief discussion of the poem and selected translations, see Barbara Stoler Miller, "Songs from Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*," *Mahfil: A Quarterly of South Asian Literature*, VII, nos. 3-4 (1971), pp. 187-196. The *terminus ad quem* for Jayadeva is fixed by the presence of verses attributed to him in Śrīdharadāsa's anthology *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, which was compiled A.D. 1205 in Bengal; verses from the *Gītagovinda* are included in the critical edition of S. C. Banerji (Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1965). In the *Gītagovinda* (I. 4) Jayadeva compares himself with poets Umāpatidhara, Govardhana, and Dhoyī, all of whom are associated with the Bengal court of Lakṣmaṇasena (ca. A.D. 1185-1205), whose inscriptions show that he broke Sena tradition by becoming a Vaiṣṇavite; he may have been Jayadeva's patron, but the poet does not mention him. There is no single-volume study of the *Gītagovinda* in English, but there are lengthy introductions and notes in Latin, by C. Lassen in his edition, *Gītagovinda* (Bonn, 1836) and in Bengali, by Harekrishna Mukhopādhyāya in *Kavijayadeva o śrīgītagovin*
cutta: Gurudās Mukhopādhyāya and Sons, 1363 B.S.

[2] On the meters, see Lassen, pp. xxvii-xxx
prasad Bhattacharyya, *Jottings on Sanskrit Metr*
cutta: Sanskrit College, 1963); articles by H. D. V
in *JBBRAS*, new series, vols. 19-25 (1943-194
tāla, see Alain Daniélou, *Northern Indian Mus*
York: Praeger, 1968), pp. 65-74; P. Samban
South Indian Music, Book II (Madras: India
Publishing House, 1968), pp. 18-28.